593 wife (non-secluded) is also a productive asset in farming activities.
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[558] Women are fully aware in every marriage they enter to what extent their husbands are dependent upon them for the maintenance of their socio-economic status in the community, and are fully prepared at all times to manipulate their husbands, using the threat of easy divorce to break down his traditional right of domination and assert their independence within the marriage relationship. This obtains in economically low status households where the man has some difficulty in obtaining enough capital to marry. In its extreme form, given a timid husband with one wife of low status socially and economically, and an independent woman, this variable may create a completely female dominated household. Other men tend to gossip about such marriages speaking [521] [837] of them as ridiculous jokes upon the poor, weak husband and scandalous, shameful behaviour on the part of the wife who usually includes open sexual freedom as a part of her dominant position. When questioned about such marriages, however, informants adopt a somewhat fatalistic attitude and comment that there is nothing the unfortunate man can do, since he needs a wife so badly and has not the necessary economic power [183] available to him to assert his rights. Thus the cultural pattern of male dominance must be supported by real social instruments; if the male's status is overly dependent upon his wife, it becomes almost impossible for the cultural ideal of female subordination to function
593 properly. This is why higher ranking males can expect higher accord-
565 ance with traditional standards on the part of their wives. If they
183 are successful men, then all they wish from their wives is good, proper, ethical conduct, which includes submissiveness. At this level, the married status of the woman requires that she must meet her husband's demands for wifely behaviour or he will get rid of her. The operation

554 (d) barber - they are ignorant; they know bad things (fear of witch-
829 craft) and magical malevolence which is also attributed
[789] to hunters, medicine sellers, magicians and Koranic mal-
lams.

554 (e) petty brokers - they take property to sell in the market that is
829 not their own, and then they give the money to
441 the property owner, but they never give the true
amount, they always keep their own share, they can
never be trusted. Good people could never do such
work. A broker is not vertically related to
others, he is an individual agent — it is often
difficult to find out exactly where he lives. His
non-attachment makes him less likely to be a per-
son whom people can trust. There is also much
reasonable experience behind his cheating, which
many know of to their loss.

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[558] Kanuri notions of status are such that any person who takes
up any of these occupations due to economic necessity is not supposed
to be accorded as low a status as if he were born into the occupation.
This idea gives support to the value placed upon upward mobility in
[775] Kanuri culture. One mallam told the writer that he had read in the
Koran that people, who were of these low status occupations would
never reach paradise, even if they were good and proper in their be-
haviour all their lives.

426 The lowest occupation status is that of money-lender, for
554 it is widely known that this practice is contrary to the edicts of the
577 Muslim religion. In real life this approbrium varies a great deal
primarily because of the covert admiration given to money-lenders for
their material success which allows them the cash surplus to loan for
interest.

178 The colonial period has seen the growth of many new kinds
463 of occupations that require western education. At first, outsiders,
[167] often from the southern parts of Nigeria, were brought in to man the
few essential jobs in the mechanical workshops, the hospitals, and
the offices. Today, they are rapidly being replaced by northerners and
in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri.

565 all the crafts have members who have decided to enter these activities
463 during their own lifetime from family backgrounds in which the dry sea-
602 son activity has been quite different.

554 On the other side of the question, there has always been room in Bornu for the ambitious climber. Historically, the use of slaves, servants and apprentices, rather than potentially jealous, conniving relatives in the social, political, and economic organization, [558] has left much room for the discounting of birth status. Moving from one status to another, if it is a better one, is considered a good thing while moving down the status grades is explained as knanzike (literally: hunger pushes him), i.e. he was forced into it by circumstances. Related to this is the Kanuri belief that status, to be preserved, must be validated. It is not enough to be born the son of a District Head; the individual must prove by his behaviour, both before and after he obtains the status, that he is a good chief, or a [558] good mallam, or a good dyer or farmer. If this is not the case, then birth status can be a hollow thing which becomes a means of derision and criticism to be used against a man by his fellows.

In summary, the Kanuri society is not classified neatly by ascribed birth statuses. There are other dimensions of rank which modify and change this biologically given status. Thus birth, although extremely important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of a man's status in the social organization at any particular point in time.

Wealth

556 The Kanuri differentiate among individuals as to their wealth. This dimension of stratification runs from ngudi (a poor man) to galèbu

556 (a rich man). There is no word to describe a middle range income, so that a speaker expresses this idea, if he has to, by negating both terms for rich and poor thus giving the ideal of a position somewhere in between the two extremes of his experience.(1) The various translations given for ngudi reflect the Kanuri evaluation of this dimension of rank. A ngudi is a man without property, or possessions; he is a sad man and an unfortunate one. He wears shabby clothes, eats poor food and cannot entertain his friends, or give decent gifts to them when they have ceremonies. The galibu, or rich man, is the very opposite of all these qualities (ideally). That is to say, it is considered good and desirable to be wealthy and undesirable to be poor.

Wealth is used to subsist well. This means that it is good to have fine clothes and lots of them, good horses, a big house, more than one wife, a bicycle or even a car, and to be able to afford an aeroplane ticket to Mecca, and so on. Conversely, it is bad not to have some fine clothes, and, in general, subsist at a lower level of consumption.

Enhancing this dimension and elaborating upon it, are other cultural concepts concerning the purposes of wealth. Property is used to validate status. A man who is known to be comparatively wealthy and is not using it to establish and maintain obligatory relationships of discipline-respect and/or loyalty, is considered to be bayil(2) or jokku [558] (stingy, miserly). On the other hand, a man who gets into heavy debt because of his desire to give or loan money and material goods to his friends, relatives and supporters, and initiate large expensive ceremonies far above his actual economic assets is a wujirma (spendthrift).

(1) It is only when subtle discriminations are being made in conversation that a person is spoken of as neither rich nor poor.
(2) From the Arabic.

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558 The literal translation of wujirma is illuminating since it points to the sector of behaviour believed to be associated with spendthriftiness. Litterally the term means a man who initiates many ceremonies and celebrations (wujir), and goes to a great many as a participant. So
[571] many, in fact, that this is a major occupation with him. As in many societies, Kanuri ceremonial participation validates an individual's membership in a relational network. Thus kin members who do not attend one another's ceremonies are "far kin" to each other. By going to many ceremonies a man may be trying to enter into and create many more relationships than he can actually afford. Since he does not have the material resources to sustain his mutual obligations with all these people, his behaviour is considered foolish and imprudent.

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533 Related to this kind of behaviour but somewhat different to it is the excessive giving of money to praise-singing drummer-entertainers for a few moments of publicly bought acclaim. One young civil servant in Maiduguri was strongly motivated by a desire for increased status. He related how he had become enraged at a dance one evening in the city because he had only one pound to give to the praise-singers (the informant's salary was £7.10.0 per month). He spent the pound very quickly and then other young men took over and gave money while he remained as an onlooker to the singing of his age-mate's praises. Before the evening was over he had spent fourteen pounds of government (N.A.) funds that he was carrying, in his desire to compete with the others for the services of the praise-singers. Praise-singers often attempt to shame people into giving more money than they can afford in order to have their praises sung longer and more loudly. Most informants consider consistent over-giving, in this respect, to be

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571 me a . . ."). This validates the higher status of the person being asked to give and can strengthen or initiate an obligatory subordination of some kind on the part of the would-be receivar. But, because there are so many more potential receivers than possible donors, all informants felt that it was always wise to keep quiet about the exact proportions of one's wealth in order to limit the amount of requests which widespread knowledge of property surpluses would bring.

It should be noted here that this imbalance of donors and receivers and the culturally defined potentiality of their interrelationship, offers a much travelled route for social mobility in Bornu. Any man who obtains material surpluses may begin to use his property to obtain discipline-respect (bbrəm) relationships with an expanding
• [558] group of followers. Contrarily, a man whose material wealth is declining finds his followers less apt to remain within his organization. This is one of the primary elements in the operation of political and economic power.

An example of what this can mean in every day life is seen in the following example. In Magumeri the local school teacher who is on a monthly civil service salary is considered moderately wealthy by local rural standards. During an interview, at the writer's house, the teacher became increasingly nervous and fidgety, continually watching a rather elderly peasant who seemed to hover around the base of a tree about twenty yards in front of the house. Towards the end of the afternoon, the informant interrupted the conversation to ask whether the writer had seen the man near the tree. He then complained bitterly that this man was no friend or relation to him, but had been begging for a hat (price, four to eight shillings) for the last few weeks. The

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829 This brings up an interesting observation. The judgment of any individual about the distribution of arziyi in society at any one time is his particular notion about the arrangement of social roles in the social structure. Furthermore, his estimation of the distribution of arziyi at any one level of the hierarchy, e.g. comparing the behaviour of one District Head with another, is his judgment of the success that occupants of similar roles were enjoying relative to one another.

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829 Arziyi seems to be used in two related ways in Kanuri culture. Firstly, in an enormously heterogeneous society, it gives a satisfactory answer to individual variations along one of the most affective dimensions of behaviour, success in achieving immediate and long range goals. Secondly, it is used as an explanation for the nature of the social structure, i.e. for its stratification. Those people, who have higher status along any dimension of stratification, have more arziyi, which accounts for their ability to maintain such a role in the social organization. These two ways of using arziyi as an explanation for differentiation are related so that what results is a Kanuri theory of society that at once validates its structure and explains the changes in personnel which accompany a system where personal fortunes may rise and fall rapidly. Thus a high status position in the structure indicates that the person has that amount of arziyi. His performance of the role required by this status may show him to have even more arziyi then he will outstrip others who occupy the same status and seek the same goals. On the other hand, he may do badly which will indicate a loss of arziyi and a loss of status. Arziyi is also, besides being a theory of society, a theory of causation, which integrates social and individual differentiation under one simple, mystical force, personal

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